/8 cont./

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114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

[123] [115] 122 128

128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D. D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teñi (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name [114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá of (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not [115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapûté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions [659] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 167 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114]

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

/12 cont./

175 361 [362] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Manoeo do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

• [115]

[114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1948, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with trumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambóó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambóó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambóó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body: at the height of the left hip it is tied with a silken cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The trumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends: I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catigná (katigué 924 in Kayová, katigná in Nandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadigná). One uses the inner bark of the catigná and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 291 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Nandéva women as 382 well weave or wove trumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of trumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of trumbé.

/48 cont./

'243 824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mbiá, sometimes avatí kacapé, sometimes avatí miri. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí puká is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtí (white), djú (yellow) or pytã (red), or parã (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakairá morõtí or avatí puká morõtí, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /48/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground": it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another: "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more: and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakairá morõtí.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of Nandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. [114] [115] It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí puká, morõtí and pytã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one: it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crust of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight: the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/40 cont./

243 824 [193] too. The red maize avatí puhá yvyá, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakaíra was a Kayová Indian who received the white saberó maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pîtao Indígena Benjamin [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole monguraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó ramí ñemongá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñandeconí ñeýguá, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hú a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañombo'é ñandé avatí ré aranoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "our"

/87 cont./

47% In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /18/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
47% to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
17% today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
• [115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Rasiri. It is necessary to have
[654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus,
[182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so: those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão: food is very expensive.

47% The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

47% The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbyá and Ñandéva)
[84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

2z Schaden--81 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/69 cont./

828 856 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also 856 82 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, caŕ and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrkŕ Bof), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kyrĕ'ỹvadjá). Kyrĕ' momboyr' ché, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony; at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbbá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them; they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of 869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbbá Ñanderá, told me: "We do 828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does • [115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

2: Schaden--89 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh44

/75 cont./
582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbyá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbyá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Rariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my • [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Although in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified 601 593 with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /75/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbyá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

2: Schaden--90 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the Ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [581] [304] [1191] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poyãjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

2: Schaden--103 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known
[171] in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her (odjeko)aku: the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

[189] If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[114] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 384 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [301] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not [824] necessarily done by the fiandeirú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhóaku, [152] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /96/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý rý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykâ, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apykâ, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykâ to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykâ; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civiliser hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjuvant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

794 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareĩ, and perhaps
• 115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanénẽ (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

794 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
794 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
190 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

2: Schaden--152 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

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What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderó, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/122 cont./

782 424 114 [123] then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

• [115] [784] [796] [829]

782 778 774 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahéi is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

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782 778 621

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782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[155] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[906] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by 754 Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 752 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[115] [825]

[114] [115] 754 755 766 825 /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

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/135 cont./

775 764 972 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbyá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told [115] me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽgué of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽgué is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire [774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽgué (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does